

556 than two or three generations.<sup>2</sup> These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

#### B. Social Mobility

596 • The Family Ideal. Large families, especially  
428 of the extended type, were the ideal in China.<sup>3</sup>  
55 However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.<sup>4</sup>

2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

550 On the other hand, because of the existence of  
596 extended families and the clan structure, less  
423 fortunate members of these groups might be  
helped by relatives to gain a living or an educa-  
tion. A substantial amount of land was usually  
allotted to the communal family or clan for  
religious, educational, or charitable purposes by  
illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepo-  
596 tism was simply a projection of the family ideal  
55 of mutual help among the members. Clan nepo-  
tism often accounted for a man's rise on the  
social and economic ladder. This practice con-  
tributed to the upward movement of poorer seg-  
ments of the population who otherwise might  
never have advanced socially and economically  
in a relatively short period of time.

555 The Scholar Ideal. Learning was much esteem-  
566 ed, especially when combined with wealth. The  
517 prestige of the wealthy was never complete until  
their wealth was adorned with culture. Indica-  
tion of respect for learning was common in  
China, as typified by the saying: "Although your  
children may be of low intelligence, you as  
parents should make them study the Classics." 5

5. This stress on learning and cultivation of  
the Chinese was studied by Max Weber. In his  
Religion of China Weber goes so far as to conclude  
that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accu-  
mulation necessary for the development of modern  
capitalism in China. While this analysis may be  
over simple, it indicates how the traditional  
supremacy of officialdom over the merchant

575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.<sup>8</sup>

## II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal  
596 helped to preserve the stability of the total social  
178 order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 There was no change in the social composition  
423 of the rural population in the past several decades.  
565 As of old, the village community consisted of  
369 farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.<sup>9</sup>

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1g,  
Sociological Background

THE FAMILY

I. INTRODUCTION

● 596 Until almost the end of the imperial period (221 B.C. to A.D. 1912), the family was a vital and universal aspect of the centralized state in China and most characteristic of the society which sustained it. Since then, the family has been in flux. The direction of change and the major causes and problems involved will be sketched out in this section. A more precise picture, as Marion Levy has pointed out, is not feasible with the existing incomplete state of material on Chinese society both before and since the inauguration of the Communist regime.<sup>1</sup>

The traditional family still persists. It proved resistant, but not impregnable, to the influx of modern Western techniques and ideas after 1942 and to the political revolutionary efforts to realize democracy and equality in the present century. The traditional family is still proving tenacious in the face of the Communist regime's

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1. Marion J. Levy, Jr., The Family Revolution in Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 273.

- 596 persistent effort to turn Chinese society inside out.

To understand the nature of the Chinese family today, it is necessary first to take account of the structure, function, and attitudes of the traditional family. Second, consideration must be given to the incidence and nature of change in the family preceding the Communist regime. Only then can intelligent consideration be given to the family under the Central People's Government. Finally, attention will be devoted to the unique factors that characterize the family in North China.

## II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

The term "family" in China has been most usefully defined as "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption and having a common budget and common property."<sup>2</sup> Three main types of family structure have been distinguished -- the conjugal, the stem, and the joint forms. The joint family, consisting of several married brothers, their wives, children, and sometimes one or both parents, was the ideal family of China. It was typical only of the gentry and well-to-do merchant classes. The conjugal family, consisting of a man, his wife, and unmarried children, and the stem family, consisting of the conjugal family

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2. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13; Cf., Levy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

- 596 plus one married son with his wife and children, were most typical of the peasant, artisan, and small merchant class. For all classes, however, the joint family was the ideal to be achieved if an improvement in family circumstances permitted.<sup>3</sup>

The status of every member of the family was fixed relative to every other member by the criteria of age, sex, and generation. At the top of the family pyramid stood the head of the house, the oldest living male. In practice, he might consult with other adult members of the family on matters vital to its welfare; theoretically, and often in fact, he exercised complete control over the activities, income, property, training, punishment, and marriage arrangements of the family and its members.<sup>4</sup>

However old his sons, their position in relation to him was one of service, obedience, and dutiful respect. A lesser but similar expression was expected of a man toward his elder brothers

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3. Ibid., pp. 13-16. Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 42-60.

4. The material presented in this and the following paragraphs on the traditional and changing family is based largely on the comprehensive works on the family by Levy, op. cit. and Lang, op. cit.

- 596 and relatives of an older generation.

Females generally were subordinate to males as well as to elders. The wife was subject to the will of her husband and to that of her son when he became head of the house. While a man's parents lived, his wife was expected to be more subservient than he toward his parents. In his mother-in-law, the son's wife more often than not encountered a tyrant. The mother-in-law, rather than her son, governed and judged the actions of the son's wife.

#### B. Social Role

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769  
842 The principal social function of the family in China was the bearing, rearing, and training of children. Sons were more highly valued than daughters, because only the former remained with the family after marriage, contributing to its labor and income, and only sons could perpetuate the family and perform the yearly rites in honor of the father and the family ancestors after the father's death. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that the ancestors had a life after death, watched over the family's fortune, and were comforted by the periodic ministrations of the family. For the living, the rites provided an occasion for awe and respect during which the continuity of the family over time was re-emphasized and the solidarity and duties of the family unit in the present reasserted.

The veneration of ancestors was so important to Chinese society that the absence of sons to

596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded  
769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part  
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. ,  
Concubinage and adoption were socially and  
legally sanctioned as means of providing sons,  
if marriage produced only daughters or no  
children at all. Because of the necessity of  
providing against a high death rate, the premium  
on sons resulted in over-population, only partly  
offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined  
an individual's status within the family, so did  
these factors determine his behavior and posi-  
tion in the community and the world at large.  
An additional determinant of his standing was  
the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province  
of males. Women might, and occasionally did,  
exercise overt leadership. More frequently,  
they were the power behind the throne. Such  
cases were exceptional, however; in modern  
times at least, supremacy was neither desired  
by women nor readily admitted to when possess-  
ed.

288 Age was honored relatively  
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher  
standing in the community, but whatever age he  
attained, , he was to show respect to his elders  
and members of an older generation. In the  
society of traditional China, age implied the  
accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to  
society in times of decision or crisis.

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,  
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

#### D. Economic Role

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596 As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

43and workshops were owned by the family rather  
596than by individuals. When disharmony caused  
the breakup of a joint family, its real property  
was divided among the constituent conjugal  
families, each as a new family claiming title  
to the portion of property which fell to its  
share.

596 The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant  
families were units of both production and con-  
sumption. Male family members worked  
together in the fields, workshops, or stores to  
produce the goods on which the family mainly  
relied for a living. Sons nearly always followed  
their father's occupation and seldom left home.  
Women worked in the home, taking care of the  
children and turning out the family's clothes  
and shoes. Where sericulture was practiced,  
women managed the entire industry from the  
cultivation of mulberry trees to the weaving of  
cloth. Food and clothing were allotted each  
member according to his needs, as they were  
determined by the head of the house and permit-  
ted by the family's circumstances.

Some variation from this pattern occurred  
among the upper-class families. Gentry-offi-  
cials and merchants were often away from home;  
they frequently had personal income from sa-  
laries or business, from which they met their  
expenses without resorting to the family trea-  
sury.

The family and its extensions in China

596 also functioned to provide security in old age, food or material help to the poor, and employment for needy or deserving relatives when possible. That a son should not provide for his parents in their old age was unthinkable. Were the sons dead or in some other way unable to assist their parents, the aged were cared for by other close relatives or by the clan. Deeply sanctioned by kinship morality and firmly rooted in Chinese government and business, nepotism was one of the most resistant factors to the advance of the modern political, industrial, and business system in the twentieth century.

### III. THE CHANGING FAMILY

#### A. Influence of Modern Technology

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596 The transition which occurred in the traditional Chinese family from approximately 1842 to the advent of the Communist regime is traceable to three major influences: (1) modern technology with its attendant factory system and modern business organization; (2) the new environment consisting of rapid transportation, modern government education, rural education organizations, and modern books and periodicals; and (3) the revolutionary political and social ferment which followed in the wake of the Western penetration of China. Change came first and most penetratingly in the ports, which were initially influenced by Western trade and later by the growth of native industry centered on those

- 596 cities. The same influence also reached into the 178 rural environs of the city ports in the decades before World War II. The great mass of the Chinese people -- the population of the traditional villages, towns, and cities in the interior -- felt the modern impact only in minor ways, if at all.

The first influence of modern technology in China came in the form of an influx of manufactured goods. Their availability at cheap prices changed the consumption and production habits of the family. Articles formerly made at home were bought with cash, necessitating new types of spare-time or full-time occupation removed from the family sphere.

Much more important in effecting a change in the old family pattern was the introduction of modern factory and business methods into China. For one thing, it organized economic activity on a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subjected to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficient operation of modern produc-

198tion and management required that personnel be  
● 5% hired on the basis of the possession of such skills  
as a particular job demanded rather than on the  
old basis of personal or kin relationship to the  
owner or responsible management. The solid-  
arity of blood relationship and the old employ-  
ment function of kinship were prime resistants  
to the spread of modern business enterprises in  
China, but where the latter succeeded in estab-  
lishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in  
the old Chinese familial process.

#### B. Influence of Modern Environment

In many places where the Chinese popula-  
tion was sheltered from direct contact with modern  
industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted  
by the environment. The modern curriculum  
taught in foreign missionary schools in the late  
nineteenth and the twentieth centuries was approx-

by the new government schools and  
offered to a broader segment of the population in  
the decade before World War II. New social,  
political, and economic ideas thus disseminated  
were supplemented by the outpourings of the  
press. Some rural villages formerly a day's  
journey or more away from the nearest great  
city were brought only hours away by modern  
methods of transportation, particularly the rail-  
road and the steamship. All these media brought  
the people and especially the young into contact  
with ideas and ways of life alien to their own.  
Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and  
pleasures to be had in the modern city planted

178a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of  
5% living.

### C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

An even more disturbing influence on the old way of life was the increasing spread of revolutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially conscious writings of China's new and popular authors.

### D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was

178 undermined. He was still needed at home to  
596 carry on the farm work, and so it was generally  
the daughters, the sons not needed for agricul-  
ture, and occasionally, the wives who entered  
the cities to seek part-time or full-time work.  
They sent home from the cities whatever part  
of their wages that could be spared from their  
own living needs. The family head thus control-  
led only their excess earnings and not their full  
income. He no longer directed the production  
of the family as a unit nor determined wholly  
every member's share in consumption. For at  
least part of the year, he could exert no direct  
control over the city-dwelling members of the  
family. With the possibility of an independent  
livelihood in the city, adult family members in  
nearby villages had an alternative to harsh  
treatment by the family head. This factor tend-  
ed to have a moderating influence on paternalis-  
tic authoritarianism.

The family in the rural areas adjacent to  
industrialized cities was also affected in other  
ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if  
they had a classical education or held official  
position, continued to be honored. However,  
their position of influence and authority was chal-  
lenged by younger men with the personal quali-  
ties of dynamic leadership and success. Ance-  
stor worship continued to give a greater primacy  
to males in the family, but the ability of daugh-  
ters to earn a wage enhanced their value to the  
family and made their early marriage into anoth-  
er family less desirable. It should be noted,

178 however, that women of farming and laboring  
• 54 families worked outside of the home only out of  
sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved  
of female employment in the factory. Whenever  
possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among  
upper-class families, women with modern educa-  
tion began gradually to seek employment in the  
professions and to regard such work as a means  
of establishing permanent personal and economic  
independence.

The independent family in the modern city  
was most subject to change. Though the influence  
of the past remained strong, the city families  
tended toward the nuclear, democratic form.  
Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age,  
and generation were undermined. This tendency  
was strongest among the new clerical, manager-  
ial, and professional groups in the city. They  
came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant  
and gentry class which could afford modern  
education, sometimes abroad, for their children.  
Having a higher education, the younger members  
of this group were far more influenced than were  
the less literate lower class youth by such mo-  
dern Western ideas as the right of individual  
happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the  
duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the  
interests of the nation.

While modern education gave youth increased  
stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also  
served to decrease youth's respect for parents.  
Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes  
toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per  
cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in

178 high school were willing to answer the question  
● 546 as to whether they ever disapproved of their  
parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and  
62 per cent of the women in college were willing  
to answer, and their answers were overwhelm-  
ingly critical. The greatest objects of censure  
were the father, his political views, and his  
personal habits. He was criticized as "conser-  
vative," "feudal," acting "against the trend of  
the time;" and "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy,"  
"egotistic," "too cautious"; and for gambling,  
smoking opium, and frequenting brothels. Mothers  
were more gently and less often criticized, but  
were reproached for "political backwardness,"  
"unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mah-  
jong, quarrelling [and] ill treatment of young  
daughters-in-law." College students also re-  
ported more actual disagreements with parents  
than did high school students. The most fre-  
quent subjects of disagreement were marriage,  
politics, education, participation in the students'  
movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fa-  
shions, friends, and future professions.<sup>6</sup>

#### E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to  
function as a production and consumption unit or  
as an employment agency in an industrial society  
has already been pointed out. The initial break  
with the old form of employment was forced by

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6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87.

178 foreign firms or government services headed by  
596 foreigners. Their prohibition against officers  
hiring or recommending relatives was only  
beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institu-  
tions such as banks, factories, and schools in  
the years before World War II. Where the em-  
ployment of relatives was forbidden, friendship,  
a common birthplace, training in the same  
school, or membership in the same secret society  
often provided the basis for a personal link be-  
tween an employer and a prospective employee  
and for the rise of cliques in business and govern-  
ment offices.

Scattered surveys of various strata of the  
population in industrial areas indicate that only  
at the upper managerial or owner level, where  
the facts of economic operation were most press-  
ing, was the majority in favor of impersonal,  
rational selection of employees. Even in modern  
colleges, only about half the students appeared  
to favor that choice. With each successively  
lower economic level, the preference was more  
overwhelmingly for selection on the basis of  
kinship.<sup>7</sup>

#### F. Effect on Social and Political Role

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With the collapse of the imperial system  
in 1912, the family was no longer fitted to serve

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7. Ibid., pp. 186-89.

829 as the social and political training ground of  
642 China. The political parties and modern schools,  
178 particularly the colleges and universities, now  
596 began to train youth for the new political world  
which was coming into being after 1911. No com-  
parable institutions existed to inculcate in youth  
a moral and ethical code that would serve as a  
common guide in the new society. Attempts by  
the Kuomintang leaders during the period of the  
National Government to restore filial piety along  
with a revised Confucian code to the service of  
an increasingly authoritarian-minded state met  
with failure among the nation's youth.<sup>8</sup>

#### IV. THE FAMILY UNDER COMMUNISM

##### A. The Marriage Law

596 In reconstructing Chinese society, the  
671 Communist regime has undertaken to change the  
nature and function of the family. The first step  
in this direction was the new Marriage Law pro-  
mulgated in May 1950. It is one of the three  
legal pillars of the state. The other two -- the  
Labor Union Law and the Land Reform Law --  
were announced at a later date but put into effect  
within a much shorter time and with greater  
success.

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8. Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," Far Eastern Quarterly, August, 1955, pp. 515-32.

593 and marriage attachments through the ideal and  
582 officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.<sup>37</sup>

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist  
575 regime to change radically the nature and func-  
668 tion of the Chinese family was accomplished with  
871 the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate  
575 organization to the family existed to assume its  
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-  
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of  
1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the  
countryside to those areas where land reform  
had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train  
and absorb the energies of women and children  
who might otherwise be free of the constant  
direct influence of the government. These two  
groups were absorbed respectively into the All-  
China Democratic Federation of Women and into  
the Young Pioneers, the Federation of  
Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic  
Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for  
668 procreation and for child-care until the young  
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable  
to molding by the state, the family was left only  
with the secondary duty of supporting the state  
training process. An editorial in the People's  
Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic-  
of the government toward children, made  
manifest by the establishment of nurseries and  
schools and the teaching of proper attitudes to-  
ward children and the correct methods for  
educating them. "The new Socialist generation"  
was to be brought up "physically strong, coura-  
geous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and  
imbued with collective spirit." The editorial  
also stated that trade unions were to help office

596 employees and workers to learn how to educate  
668 their children" Teachers and directors of the  
871 Young Pioneers were to assume the "important  
responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms,  
meetings, and extra-curricular activities.<sup>38</sup>

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents needed clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of ... individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to Reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings

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38. Ibid., 1954, pp. 11-13.

596 they have inherited from the old regime, but  
668 "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."<sup>39</sup>  
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## V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

### A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

178 Several conflicting influences on family  
596 organization and function have been present in  
the North China Region during the last twenty-  
five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China  
in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization  
and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns  
were less prevalent in the North China Region  
than in the Central-South and East China regions.  
Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region  
where industrialization had made any appreciable  
headway, and warlord rule in the region had  
precluded any wide dissemination of new social  
and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family  
trends in China just before the outbreak of the  
war showed that within comparable socio-economic  
groups modern tendencies were less apparent  
in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized  
Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern  
trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.<sup>40</sup> Sydney  
Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area  
of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

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39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

- 178 influences were creeping in to affect family life,  
● 546 but that on the whole, it had not departed appreciably from the traditional mould.<sup>41</sup>

During the war, the cities of Hopei and Shansi and the villages of the provinces along communication routes were occupied by the Japanese and subjected to an influence opposed to that exerted in much of the surrounding countryside where Communist guerrilla armies and political agents were active. To counteract Western and Communist ideas and to make the conquered people of North China more amenable to Japanese rule, the occupation regime promoted a revival of Confuciansim and a return to the traditional ways of living. The authority of the male head of the family was re-emphasized; equality between the sexes was criticized and ridiculed; and Western industrialization was scorned as the creator of cities with their attendant evils and was to be replaced by Japanese industrialization to bring machines to the village and preserve the small community patterns of social organization. Japanese terroristic methods of control and persecution of the modern intellectual and professional groups in North China undoubtedly counteracted any influence the Japanese might have been able to exert in effecting a return to the past. However, the Japanese program did prevent the further intra-

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41. Sydney D. Gamble, Ting Hsiao, A North China Rural Community, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954.

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546 Mission of modernizing forces in the North China Region and helped to preserve the traditional form and function of the Chinese family so little influenced by modern trends.<sup>42</sup>

Communist dominance in unoccupied rural areas of Shansi and Hopei during the war introduced the village population to new social ideas as well as to new political theory. Women's and young people's organizations were established to enlist the efforts of these groups in the war effort and local defense units. As far as possible, the Communists attempted to introduce such concepts as the equality of the sexes, marriage by free choice, and the right of divorce that were latter to become elements of the new Marriage Law. Always a minority in the rural areas of Shansi and Hopei, the Communists had to rely on democratic symbols and persuasive techniques rather than force to promote the new social attitudes. At the more securely held bases established in the border areas of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, Shansi-Suiyuan, Hopei-Jehol-Liaoning, Hopei-Shantung-Honan, and Shansi-Hopei-Honan, the Communists had somewhat greater influence and control than in the villages occasionally visited *by and under* the dominance of roving guerrilla bands. After the war, these war bases were redesignated as "liberated areas," and intensive efforts were made to inculcate the people with Communist social and

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42. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940.

political philosophy of the "New Democracy."

59% The "old liberated areas" are now referred to as "advanced areas" and publicized as models in the Communist effort to reorient the Chinese family and society.

### B. The Pace of Reform

In the pace of family reform, the North China Region is probably the most advanced of any territory under the Communist regime. Although industrialization and modern city life with their influences for change in family form and function have a longer history in the East and Northeast China regions, neither region has been subject to as long a period of Communist influence as the North China Region. Furthermore, the region has been under the direct control and surveillance of the central government and is the testing ground for new Communist policies before they are revised and enforced elsewhere in the country.

If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. No such drawbacks characterize the heavily indoctrinated youth of today, more enthusiastic than their parents for the new order, but the urge manifested by many emancipated young

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

178 people toward individualism and romanticism in  
546 love and marriage may pose a problem of equal  
calibre for the new masters of China.

## POPULATION AND OTHER VITAL STATISTICS

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With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than \$200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between \$400 and \$500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162  
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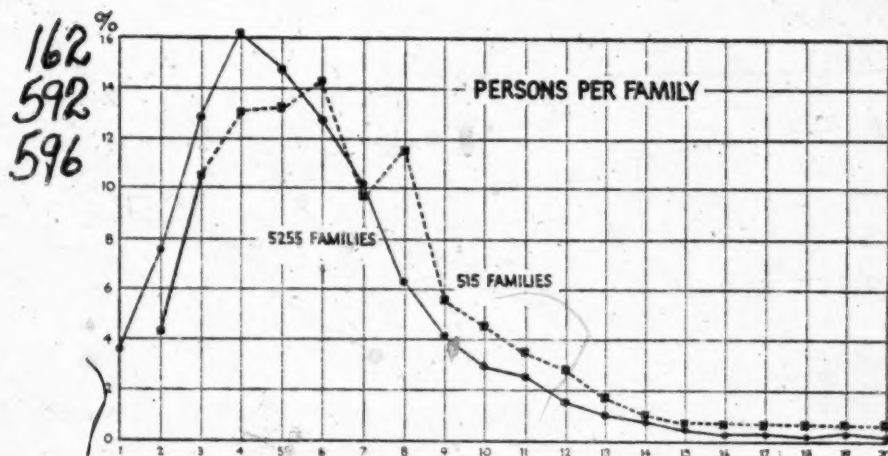


FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 98.4

## POPULATION AND OTHER VITAL STATISTICS

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per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent.

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien.

*Composition of the Family*

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4.

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may

593 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement  
 596 of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of  
 562 a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman  
 596 was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head  
 596 of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck<sup>4</sup> in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

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The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters. 596

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line. 597

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancée evidently was not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancées. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married. 596

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records. 582

*Sex Distribution*

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families. 596

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go 369

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369 to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daughter-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.<sup>5</sup> The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

### *Age Distribution*

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805 The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

162 The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five; the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

12/ to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation<sup>3</sup> through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,<sup>4</sup> it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.<sup>5</sup>

### Hunger

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596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.<sup>6</sup> In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution*, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in *Competition and Cooperation*, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, *Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism*, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in *The Science of Society*, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being."—W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger."—A. E. Ayau, *The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.<sup>7</sup> 261 [853] [846] 596

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.<sup>8</sup> 592

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile 463 592

7 Audrey I. Richards in *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

## INTRODUCTION

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lateral kinship group, tracing descent from the male. The village studied by Kulp had a total population of 650, and, exclusive of a few engaged in business, all were members of the one "sib" with the same family name. 618

Birth establishes membership in the "sib." Adoption is practiced as a form of fictitious birth, and of course marriage gives women a status as members of the "sib."

As the "sib" increases in size, it splits into subdivisions, each branch worshipping the common ancestor, presumably the founder of the branch or the original ancestor of the entire "sib." These religious units in the South have their own ancestral temples where in fixed seasons worship of the dead is conducted.

What is commonly referred to as the Chinese family is 596 • what Kulp refers to as the economic family.

. . . it is a group of people who on the basis of blood or marriage connections live together as an economic unit. It may be a natural-family or a number of natural-families which have not divided the ancestral inheritance. Occasionally it may coincide with the branch-family or religious-family. . . .

Ordinarily an economic-family is composed of father, mother or mothers, grandparents—frequently a grandmother—the children of the father, and the wives of the children with their young children. This covers four generations. In such cases the groups tend to be large. The number of persons may vary from a single person to more than twenty in Phenix Village. In some villages nearby such groups contain more than one hundred persons. . . .

The economic-family is really the working unit of the village community. While the religious-family functions primarily for the stability of the community, the economic-family provides its maintenance. Within this unit there is in general resources a limited form of communism. The administration of these resources lies in the hands of the *chia-chang* or head under the

• 596 supervision of the *chia-chang* of the religious-families or the village leaders.

594 When the natural-family coincides with the economic-family then the father is head and assumes full responsibility to the higher *chia-chang* or village leaders for the conduct of the members of his group.<sup>1</sup>

The natural family was merely a part of these other and larger groupings.

. . . It provides biological continuity of the sib and other groups and feeds members into the other groups. Actually it is fundamental in the village, but from the point of view of theory embodied in tradition and convention, little account is taken of it for itself. It may be called the natural-family or the marriage-group.<sup>2</sup>

It cannot be over-emphasized that this intricate and comprehensive system is the one great pattern of Chinese social life. It is recognized by the Chinese sages as the basic social grouping. For the great masses of the people, their interests — social, economic, religious — center largely here.

As Kulp points out, the social system was one which exalts age and puts the control in the hands of the elders. "The spiritual community" (the recently or long deceased heads of the clan), as well as the original founder, reinforces the authority of its successors, for all their spirits are supposed to watch over the destinies of the clan.

#### THE VILLAGE

621 The next basic grouping of the Chinese social life is the  
361 village where approximately 80 or 90 per cent <sup>3</sup> of the people of China live. These villages are large or small clusters of **farmers' homes, surrounded by fields.**

<sup>1</sup> Kulp, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 50.

## CHAPTER III

### SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INQUIRY

Before proceeding to describe separately the living conditions of the families under investigation, it is necessary, in the first place, to define some of the terms we have adopted in this study and, in the second place, to point out certain questions in connection with the investigation and analysis of the data. 000

### THE FAMILY

Throughout the study, the term family or household is taken as the unit. By family is meant the aggregate of persons who are not merely or even necessarily of the same kin but are essentially related in their household economy. The investigation is primarily interested in the economic aspect of the family and it is the family that serves as an economic unit, in particular, a centre of consumption, to its various members. Thus, all the persons who either contribute income to, or directly depend for their living upon, the family are considered as its members. It should be noted that according to the traditional conception of the Chinese family, it includes all members bearing the same surname and living in the same courtyard. Emphasis has heretofore been laid on the kinship relationship of its members. From the point of view of our study, however, the kinship relationship alone seems to be meaningless, unless it entails at the same time on each member also some kind of direct economic relationship, such as consumption of food or contribution to the family treasury. 592  
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In our analysis of family composition, relationship of members is that to the head of the family.

### AGE

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that 000

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES 41

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks. 162  
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Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,<sup>1</sup> the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members. 162

| Birth-place           | Heads of Families | Wives | Fathers | Mothers |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------|---------|---------|
| Peking ... ..         | 43                | 41    | 41      | 42      |
| Other than Peking ... | 4                 | 6     | 6       | 5       |
| Total ... ..          | 47                | 47    | 47      | 47      |

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

## SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five 592  
births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under 596  
two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the

<sup>1</sup> "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

592 size of the families, and also the age, sex and employment of the  
596 members, both the deceased and the newly born were considered as living during the period of the inquiry, as the inclusion of them had hardly any perceptible influence on the average size of the family. In the tables on the expenditure or the cost of living which will appear in subsequent chapters, however, both the births and the deaths were reduced to their fractional parts of an equivalent adult according to the period they had actually lived.

One finds from Table 3 that the majority, that is about three-fifths, of the families studied, had from four to five members each, while only two families had seven members and more.

Regarding the constitution of the family, it is clear that essentially it consists of the husband, the wife and their children. These formed 200 out of 220. Thus, it appears that the families under investigation were essentially of the modern type. As the daughter-in-law, the son's betrothed, that is, the daughter-in-law-to-be living with the family before her marriage, and the grand-daughter, are all in the direct line of the family and constitute proper members of the family, only seven came from collateral lines or relatives.

While the traditional Chinese family usually includes more members than the married couple and their offspring, yet the present investigation undoubtedly shows that it is tending to conform to the family type of the west. Generally speaking, the typical Chinese family exists now-a-days only in country districts and among wealthy classes, while the family of the modern type has become general in urban districts and among comparatively poorer classes. There is no doubt that the disintegration of the Chinese family is still in progress and is further hastened by the social and economic changes which are going on in this country at present. It seems certain that, before long, the typical Chinese family as constituted by three or four collateral lines of an equal number of generations will entirely disappear from this land.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

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Table 3.—Size and Member Relationship of 48 Families

| Number of persons in family |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | Number of families | Per cent | Member relationship           | Number | Per cent |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|----------|-------------------------------|--------|----------|
| 3                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9                  | 18.7     | Heads of families ..          | 47     | 21.4     |
| 4                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16                 | 33.4     | Wives ...                     | 47     | 21.4     |
| 5                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12                 | 25.0     | Sons ...                      | 60     | 27.2     |
| 6                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9                  | 18.7     | Daughters ...                 | 46     | 20.9     |
| 7                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1                  | 2.1      | Mothers ...                   | 5      | 2.3      |
| 8                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1                  | 2.1      | Brothers ...                  | 2      | 0.9      |
| Total ... ..                |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 48                 | 100.0    | Sisters ...                   | 3      | 1.4      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Daughter-in-law ...           | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Grand daughter ..             | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Nephews (brother's sons) ..   | 2      | 0.9      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Nephew (sister's son) ...     | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Niece (sister's daughter) ... | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Grandson (daughter's son) ... | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Cousin (aunt's son) ...       | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Wife's sister ...             | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Son's betrothed ...           | 1      | 0.5      |
|                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |                    |          | Total) ... ..                 | 220    | 100.0    |

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## CHAPTER IX

## THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

Before proceeding to deal with the living conditions of the elementary school teachers in Peking as represented by the twelve budget accounts for November 1926, it would be pertinent first of all to describe some of the social aspects of their families. 875

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES

1. Size and Membership. As shown in Table 25, of the twelve families under investigation, one fourth had four members each while more than one half had each less than five. The size of the family of those that make the teaching of children their main profession is necessarily small, being generally circumscribed by its income. In case the teacher comes from a big family, either he is not the chief bread-earner or his earnings are supplemented by those of others. 875  
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Table 25.—Size and Membership of Twelve Teaching Families

| Number of persons in family | Number of families | Member relationship        | Number |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------|
| 2 ... ..                    | 1                  | Husbands (the teacher) ... | 12     |
| 3 ... ..                    | 2                  | Wives... ..                | 10     |
| 4 ... ..                    | 4                  | Sons ... ..                | 7      |
| 5 ... ..                    | 1                  | Daughters ... ..           | 6      |
| 6 ... ..                    | 1                  | Fathers ... ..             | 5      |
| 7 ... ..                    | 2                  | Mothers ... ..             | 7      |
| 12 ... ..                   | 1                  | Brothers .. ..             | 3      |
|                             |                    | Sisters ... ..             | 3      |
|                             |                    | Brothers' wives ... ..     | 2      |
| Total ... ..                | 12                 | Nephews ... ..             | 5      |
|                             |                    | Niece ... ..               | 1      |
|                             |                    | Total ... ..               | 61     |

## LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING

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As was the case with the working families, the majority of the members in the teachers' families was constituted by the husbands and wives and their offspring. But in contrast with them, a greater proportion of parents was found living with the teachers' families. It happened in our working families that the head of the family was at the same time the chief worker or the chief bread-earner. But in the families of the elementary school teachers, the teacher was not always, nor necessarily, the family head. As our subject of investigation is the teacher, it seems that we have to depart somewhat from the procedure adopted in analysing membership of the working families and to take the teacher as the head of the family. It may be observed that with the middle class families, to which that of the teacher surely belongs according to the social, if not the economic scale, parents always live with their son even after the latter's marriage, and unless the burden be found too heavy for the teacher to bear, the traditional organization of the family is as a rule still maintained. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the teachers' families, husbands, wives and their offspring constitute only 57 per cent of the whole population whereas those in the working families constitute almost 91 per cent.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of the Members of the  
Twelve Families

| Age group  | Husbands | Wives | Sons | Daughters | Others | Total |
|------------|----------|-------|------|-----------|--------|-------|
| Under 5 .. | —        | —     | 4    | 1         | 2      | 7     |
| 5-9 ..     | —        | —     | 2    | 3         | 3      | 8     |
| 10-14 ..   | —        | —     | 1    | 2         | —      | 3     |
| 15-19 ..   | —        | —     | —    | —         | —      | —     |
| 20-29 ..   | 5        | 4     | —    | —         | 3      | 12    |
| 30-39 ..   | 5        | 6     | —    | —         | 5      | 16    |
| 40-49 ..   | 2        | —     | —    | —         | 2      | 4     |
| 50-59 ..   | —        | —     | —    | —         | 5      | 5     |
| 60-69 ..   | —        | —     | —    | —         | 4      | 4     |
| 70-79 ..   | —        | —     | —    | —         | 2      | 2     |
| Total...   | 12       | 10    | 7    | 6         | 26     | 61    |

## THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

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2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875  
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All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875  
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It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that appropriations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to receive, but which he does not usually get; while the other is to

## CHAPTER III. POPULATION

### 1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximate-162 ly 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437.

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads-596 • or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who-162 live outside of the town for the greater part of the-462 year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so

## CHAPTER IV

### FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

#### I. Size of the Family

592 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of  
596 the family can be drawn unless we know what should  
be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family  
includes everybody who lives under the same roof,  
eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and  
duties of all the members. Two to three generations  
are often included in the family, but all in the unit are  
not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or  
daughter, a servant or any other person sharing in the  
common life will be included in the economic family  
or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in  
another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with  
size of the family of the ordinary people. The most  
popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large,  
but in our survey we have found the average number  
of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much  
more than in the United States where the number of  
members in the family is generally supposed to be  
small. In 1920 the number per family in the United  
States was 4.3, in New York City 4.4 and Great Britain  
4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of  
114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American  
family.

## CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

162 The different sizes of the family and their respective frequencies are shown in table X where it will be seen that the most general size is one of three persons, closely followed by families of four and five persons, and then those of six and two members. These five types include 269 families or 72.5% of the 371 families examined.

Closely connected with the economic family or household is the biological family including only blood relations, and those introduced into the family by marriage. Here the average number of persons per family is 4.8, a slightly smaller size than the economic family unit.

### 2. Family Organization.

596 One characteristic of the Chinese family group is the complexity of its organization. Brothers and even cousins, after marriage, often live together in the same family unit, and five generations with one hundred or more members in one family unit is not unknown. In considering family organization in Ching Ho we have only included blood relations, and not friends, workers, or relatives on the maternal side.

There are two ways in which we can analyse the family; the vertical analysis by which we find how many lines of family members there are, such as married brothers and cousins; and the horizontal analysis by which we find how many generations, married and unmarried are living in the same family unit. In the vertical analysis members who are descended from the family head or his parents are

## FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

included in one line, while unmarried brothers and sisters are counted as half a line. A married brother is counted as one additional line. In our analysis we found that most of the families (302 or 81.5%) had only one line, that is there was no brother or sister either married or unmarried living with the family head. There was only one case where an unmarried cousin lived in the family, the rest which show more than one line of family members being all brothers. There were 33 cases where unmarried brothers or sisters lived with their their married brothers; 25 cases where one married brother lived with the family head; five cases where one married brother and one or more unmarried brothers or sisters lived with the family head; five cases where two married brothers lived with their brothers; and one case where three married brothers lived with the family head.

TABLE XI. LINES OF FAMILY MEMBERS

| LINES | NO. OF CASES | %     |
|-------|--------------|-------|
| 1.0   | 302          | 81.5  |
| 1.5   | 33           | 8.9   |
| 2.0   | 25           | 6.8   |
| 2.5   | 5            | 1.3   |
| 3.0   | 5            | 1.3   |
| 4.0   | 1            | 0.2   |
| TOTAL | 371          | 100.0 |

## CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

596 In the horizontal analysis we have counted only the number of generations with no regard to the number of lines. For instance two or three married brother without mother or children has been considered as one generation only. Unmarried children of any number have been counted as half a generation and married persons as one whole generation.

In our analysis we found that the most usual number of generations was 1.5, that is husband and wife with unmarried children or the western type of family. There were 149 such cases or 40% of the 371 cases considered. Next came 2.5 generations indicating either husband, wife, parents and unmarried children; or husband, wife married children and unmarried grandchildren. The whole distribution is presented in the following table.

TABLE XII GENERATIONS OF  
FAMILY MEMBERS

| GENERATION | NO. OF CASES | %     |
|------------|--------------|-------|
| 1.0        | 58           | 15.6  |
| 1.5        | 148          | 39.9  |
| 2.0        | 72           | 19.4  |
| 2.5        | 84           | 22.6  |
| 3.0        | 4            | 1.1   |
| 3.5        | 5            | 1.3   |
| TOTAL      | 371          | 100.0 |

## FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

### 3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided<sup>592</sup> into two parts; the management of the more impor-<sup>596</sup> tant affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

### 4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only in-<sup>162</sup> cluded those qualified for marriage. In this case the

## CHING HO: A SOCIALLOGICAL ANALYSIS

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF  
FAMILY MANAGERS

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| PERSONNEL       | NO. OF CASES | %     |
|-----------------|--------------|-------|
| Male            | 215          | 62.5  |
| Husband         | 205          |       |
| Son             | 7            |       |
| Father          | 3            |       |
| Femole          | 129          | 37.5  |
| Wife            | 73           |       |
| Mother          | 42           |       |
| Widow           | 9            |       |
| Daughter in law | 2            |       |
| Daughter        | 1            |       |
| Mother in law   | 1            |       |
| Aunt            | 1            |       |
| TOTAL           | 344          | 100.0 |
| Unknown         | 27           |       |

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

## CHAPTER V.

### STORES

#### 1. Introduction.

Ching Ho is well-known as a market town for the <sup>443</sup> collection of grain and for the distribution of manufactured goods, so that naturally we should expect there to be a large number of stores of considerable size in the town. At the time of the store-to-store canvas there were 122 shops open, and three others which had been closed. The majority of the shops, 107, are situated on the north side of the town and are generally larger than the 15 shops on the south side. On the south side there is only a salt store which has a capital of Mex. \$2,000 and employs seven people, while the other fourteen have not more than Mex. \$2,000 capital altogether. The reason for this appears to be that the street on the south side is about six feet below the level of the stores which makes shopping and the discharging of commodities very difficult, while on the north side the street and the stores are on the same level.

It is often stated that in China farms and stores <sup>443</sup> are always run as a family concern, but this state- <sup>596</sup> ment is not altogether true. In Ching Ho none of the large stores are run on the family basis, and we found only 27 stores altogether run on this basis, as against 95 stores or 77.9% where the manager em-

## CHING HO: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

443 played workmen to assist. None of the big grain,  
596 clothing, or grocery stores which have a large capital  
are run by the family. The largest family store  
found was one with a capital of \$500, and the average  
capital for the other 26 family stores was \$90, as  
compared with the general average of \$1,082.

### 2. Varieties of Stores.

443 Ching Ho has 39 varieties of stores, from the  
common tea shop to the rare pawnshop. At the time  
of the survey there were 18 grain shops, almost 15%  
of the whole number of stores. The others which we  
found most numerous were cotton goods shops, shops  
for miscellaneous goods, a shop making a kind of flat  
cake like a scone, small inns, barbers' shops and  
restaurants. The whole distribution is given in the  
table XX:

From our survey we found that only the grain  
stores collected farm products, and most of the other  
stores simply supplied the town people, or both the  
town and farming population in the distributive zones  
described in Chap. II. The number of workers in  
the 18 grain stores is 123 or 22.9% of the 538 store  
employees, and the amount of capital held by the  
grain shops is \$70,200 or 53.2% of \$132,050, the total  
estimated capital in Ching Ho. Moreover, the greater  
proportion of the local taxes are brought in by the  
one percent charge on grain sales, and also from  
special grants from the big stores which are mostly  
grain shops. So that from these figures it would  
appear that the collecting of produce in Ching Ho is

## 178 HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE

571 than for the other months, evidently some extra payment for New Year's.

357 There were 34 families that had one or more servants  
596 living with the household. Seven of these families had two servants, and two families had four. Only 14 of the 47 servants were males. Three of these were ricksha men, two were apprentices, and three were male relatives working for room and board. Under the Chinese family system, those who are earning are responsible not only for the support of the members of their own "small" family—wife, children, mother, and father—but also are expected to help support members of the "large" family who may be in need. In fact, those in need may virtually demand assistance. Such a system helps distribute the burden of unemployment in a situation where, even under ordinary conditions, it is no easy task to find work and men are likely to be idle for long periods. Sometimes, however, the demands are so numerous and so persistent that they put an undue burden on the working members of the "large" family. We have known of instances where men have given up positions expecting that their relatives will support them; others where a man has refused an increase in salary because the demands of the family, upon learning of the added income, would be even more than the amount of the increase. Instead of giving money to unemployed relatives, some "small" families sometimes discharge their duty by giving them room, board and occasional presents in return for help around the house. In such cases, they do not pay any regular wage.

357 Five of the 34 families employing servants had incomes of less than \$90 a month. Two of the five had appren-

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## HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE

525 of losing \$20 at New Year's, they were able to save \$13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the \$200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to \$68.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

1735 The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang*, includes  
 • 596 money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and  
 431 charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or  
 \*511 other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than \$100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than \$100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from \$4.10 for the \$80 group and \$4.55 for the \$25 group, to \$42 for the \$90 group, and \$52.65 for the \$60

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group. For all the families in the income groups the averages ranged from \$1.35 for the \$80 group, to \$34.85 for the \$300 group, and \$36.50 for the \$70 group. For only eight groups, however, was the average more than \$10 a year. For individual families, the amounts varied from 1 cent to \$150, but for only four families was the amount over \$100.

Contributions amounted to less than 1 per cent of the average expenditure for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups, was the amount more than 1.5 per cent of the budget. The maximum, the average for the \$70 group, was 4.1 per cent. There seems to be some tendency for the proportion to decrease somewhat in the higher income groups, but the tendency is slight, the amounts involved are small, and the proportion could be considerably changed by a slight difference in the expenditure of one or two families. For the families reporting, the contribution expenditure averaged less than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but five income groups. Those five groups all had incomes of less than \$80 a month. The maximum was 7 per cent for the \$70 group. (Table 35.)

A study of the contributions other than those sent to relatives, brings out some interesting figures. Eighty-seven per cent of the 59 families with one or more Christian members, three of the four Mohammedan families, and 28 per cent of all the other families, gave money to needy persons, or to charitable or religious organizations. The average contribution per family reporting was \$12 for the families with Christian members; \$7.40 for the Mohammedan families; and \$2.70 for the other families. In comparing these averages, however, it must be remembered that 47 per cent of the families with incomes of